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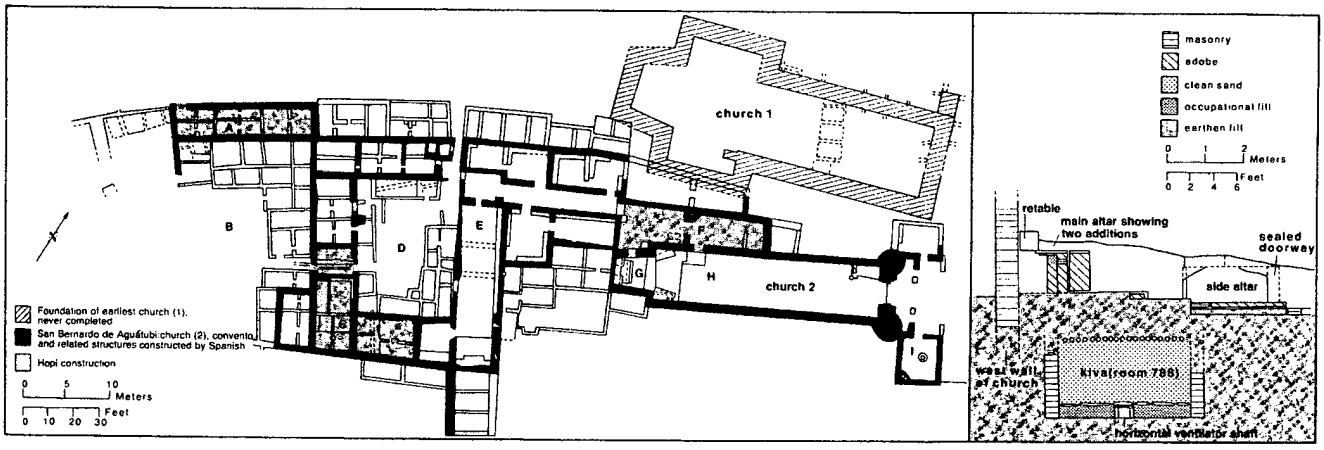
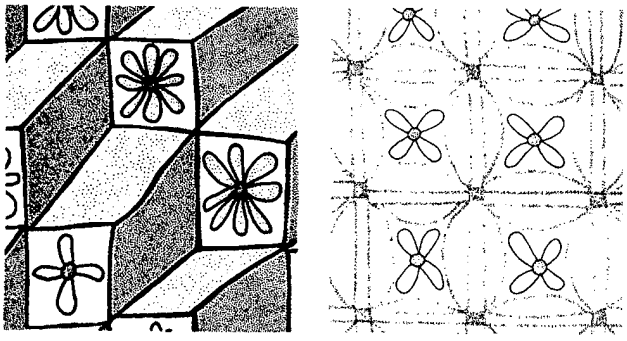


after Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:figs. 4, 10, 34, 39.

Fig. 8. Plan of San Bernardo de Aguátubi and immediately adjacent Hopi structures at Awatovi, based on conjectural reconstruction of the ruins. (For plan of the entire site of Awatovi as excavated by the Peabody Museum Excavations 1935-1939, see Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:fig. 3.) Church and convento complex included: A, storage and shop area; B, service yard; C, kitchen and refectory areas; D, courtyard; E, friar's chapel; F, sacristies; G, nave (containing main altar, which had been twice renovated, and side altars); H, sanctuary; and I, baptistry (font in center). Cross-sectional detail shows position of main altar relative to the filled kiva (room 788), one of many rectangular kivas excavated at Awatovi. The opening under the floor of the kiva is the ventilator shaft.



after Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:figs. 55e,g, 60.

Fig. 9. Painted mural designs from the church of San Bernardo de Aguátubi that appeared to either side of the altar. These were probably executed by the Hopis on the basis of designs provided by the friars, apparently in imitation of decorative tiled designs used for altar faces in Spanish and colonial Mexican churches (see Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:291-339). As with kiva murals, different designs were applied to successive layers of plaster, not all of which were decorated. Design at left (in green, ocher, and brown) was applied after the black, brown, and cream design at right. Drawn to scale; width of each section approximately 30 cm.

immense bowl with a hole in the bottom was found in a holy-water font at Awatovi, where the church and friary have been excavated completely (Montgomery, Smith, and Brew 1949:47-339). Friction was commonplace, however, and culminated when the Hopis joined in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

The Pueblo Revolt

Although local rebellions occurred from time to time, except for the rebellion at Zuni, 1632 to 1635, they were short-lived, ending in capitulation or destruction of the recalcitrant Pueblo. In 1680, however, the Pueblo Indians, for the first and only time, acted together. Every Pueblo rose, and the Spaniards were driven from New Mexico with great loss of life to both clergy and laity. Surviving refugees collected in El Paso del Norte (present-day El Paso, Texas) where those who did not go on to Mexico City remained until the reconquest of 1692.

This, their one successful expression of solidarity, was a triumph for the Pueblos. Yet for most of them it lasted less than 20 years. The Spaniards came back stronger than ever. But not to the Hopis. The struggle lost by the Christian God in Tusayán in 1680 stayed lost. The kachinas won and the kachinas have held the field since. From that time on, Spaniards appeared on the Hopi mesas only as unwelcome visitors, except at Awatovi, and Awatovi did not live long to enjoy the reunion.

Little is known of events in the Hopi towns in 1680. The date was sometime between August 10 and 13. All the priests were killed, two at Oraibi, two at Shongopavi, and one at Awatovi. The churches were destroyed and at Awatovi, at least, the Hopis took over the friary and converted it for their own use.

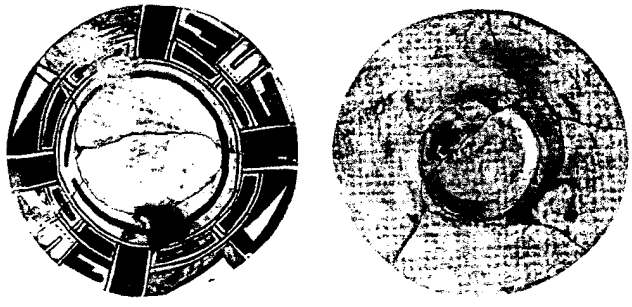


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Fig. 10. Shallow bowl from Awatovi dating from the 17th century, which combines traditional Sikyatki design and color with European-influenced form. Excavated from the baptistry and friars' chapel of church 2, circular base added to copy European wheel-thrown pottery. Diameter 18.1 cm.

Hopi Prehistory and History to 1850

J.O. BREW

Although most scholars are now prepared to admit that man has probably occupied the region of the Hopi towns for at least 10,000 years, the first identifiable remains date from the early centuries of the Christian era (Euler and Dobyns 1971:1-8). Sites representing the late Basketmaker and early Pueblo phases of the prehistoric culture are to be found throughout the Hopi country (fig. 1), and one of them has been thoroughly excavated (Daifuku 1961). That the villages of 1,500 and 1,600 years ago were occupied by direct ancestors of the modern Hopis is a matter for discussion, but the cultural remains present a clear, uninterrupted, logical development culminating in the life, general technology, architecture, and agricultural and ceremonial practices to be seen on the three Hopi mesas today (Brew 1941).

Until the mid-thirteenth century the major cultural affiliation seems to have been with the villages at the other end of Black Mesa in Marsh Pass and vicinity to the north, the people known as the Kayenta Anasazi. Until that time the Hopi area was characterized by hamlets, small pueblos, and isolated farmsteads. From the middle of the thirteenth century, for 100 years, the population on the Hopi mesas grew and grew as the populous centers in Marsh Pass, the Flagstaff area, and the Little Colorado valley were abandoned, presumably because of drought, with the attendant loss of fields through arroyo cutting, and the increased aggressiveness of the so-called wild tribes—the Navajos, Apaches, and Utes.

Consequently, during the last half of the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth a striking change is noted not only in the size of sites but also in their contents. Traits previously foreign to the area became integral parts of the culture. Influence from the Little Colorado River valley was particularly noticeable in pottery (W. Smith 1971). The Hopi country became one of the three major centers of Pueblo life during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, along with Zuni-Acoma and the Rio Grande Pueblos.

The influx of immigrant population at that time brought into being sizable towns of 500 to 1,000 people throughout the Hopi country. Scholars have argued as to whether or not the large towns on Antelope Mesa, east of First Mesa, were indeed Hopi. These towns were Awatovi, Kawaika (Kawaika-a), Chakpahu, Nesuftonga, Kokopnyama, and Lululongturque.* They have been called

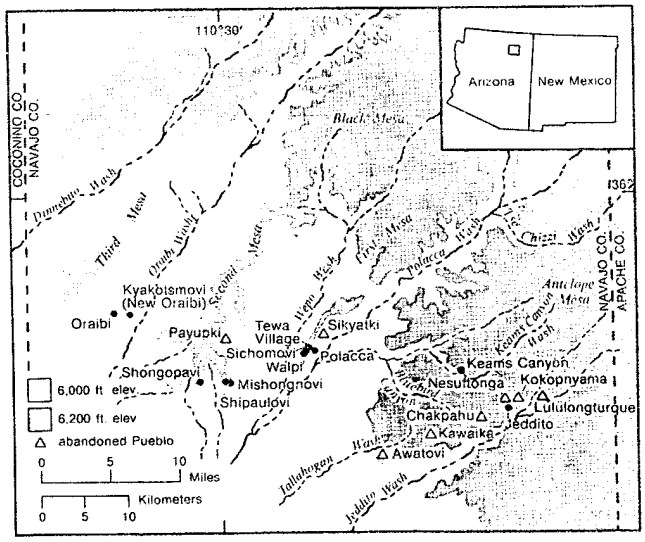

Fig. 1. Abandoned Pueblos in the Hopi area.

* The Hopi language is a member of the Uto-Aztecan family; Hopi, Takic, Tubatulabal, and Numic make up the Northern Uto-Aztecan branch of the family (Heath 1977:27), earlier known as Shoshonean (Powell 1891:108-110; Kroeber 1907:97). The differences and correspondences among the various Hopi dialects have not been studied in detail, but it appears that there are at least four major varieties: First Mesa (called Polacca by Whorf 1946:158), Mishongnovi (Whorf's Toreva [tô'rēva]), Shipaulovi (Whorf's Sipaulovi), and Third Mesa (Whorf's Oraibi). Hopi forms written in italics in the *Handbook* are in the Mishongnovi dialect or, where so labeled, the Third Mesa dialect.

The phonemes of the Mishongnovi dialect, as described by Whorf (1936:1198-1201, 1946:159-161), are as follows: (unaspirated stops) *p, t* (alveolar), *c* (alveolar affricate, [ts]), *k* (palatal), k^w, *q* (velar); (preaspirated stops) ^hp (Whorf's 'p), ^ht, ^hc, ^hk, $^hk^w$, ^hq; (nasals) *m, n,* $ŋ^y$ (Whorf's ɲ), $ŋ^w$, *ŋ;* (fricatives and resonants) *s, l, v, r* (untrilled, retroflex, and slightly spirantal), *w, y;* (voiceless continuants) *M, N, Ŋ, L, W, Y;* (laryngeals) *h,* ʔ; (vowels) *i, e* ([ɛ]), *a, o* [o^u], *ï* (Whorf's e), *ö. k* is [k^y] before *a, e,* or *i;* in syllable-final position *c* is [ts], *k* is [k], and *v* and *r* are devoiced to [f] and [r], respectively. *v* is bilabial [β], varying to labiodental. Plain [k] before *a* (in loanwords from Spanish) is written *k.* Vowels have three lengths: long (*i·*, etc.), medium (*i*, etc.), and clipped (*i*). Medium vowels are half-long with a decline of force before a following consonant; clipped vowels are short and staccato, being interrupted at full force by the closure of the following consonant. There are three levels of force-and-pitch stress: high (v̀), middle (v̇), and low (v). Long and clipped vowels always have high or middle stress; only medium-length vowels may have low stress.

The Third Mesa dialect differs from the Mishongnovi dialect in lacking the preaspirated stops, the voiceless continuants, and the distinction between medium and clipped vowels. Where Mishongnovi

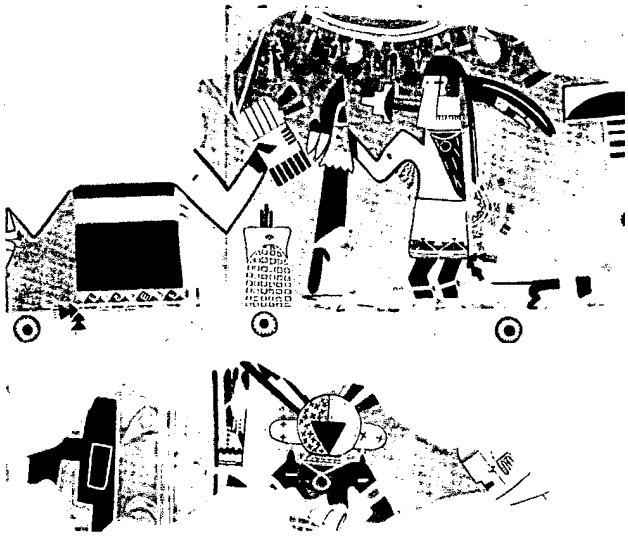

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Fig. 7. Mural paintings from kiva directly under the main altar of San Bernardo de Aguátubi mission (W. Smith 1952:figs. 79a, 81a) (see fig. 8). top, Section of one of a series of similar paintings (Awatovi, Room 788, right wall, design layer 1) extending around 3 walls of the kiva, each composed of a central figure (left) flanked by an ear of corn similar to those used on altars (see Fewkes 1927:pl. 3) and a figure in full dance costume holding a parrot. The central figure, legless but with a black dance kilt and white rain sash, carries what may be a prayer-stick bundle in his left hand. The flanking figure (at right) wears a white dance kilt with red and black designs, a feather headdress, and (probably) a mask. The cloud-terrace symbol emerging from his mouth has been interpreted as a breath cloud or pipe, relating to the ritual symbolism of blowing either breath or smoke (W. Smith 1952:237). bottom, Figure from design layer 4 of the same wall. This figure corresponds in mask, headdress, and complex staff to the Ahul kachina or one of its variants (W. Smith 1952:303-304; see also "Pueblo Fine Arts," fig. 6, this vol.). His mask is half gray and half white, with crosses and a large triangle painted in black, and is topped with eagle-tail and unidentified red feathers. Length of top segment approximately 190 cm, bottom same scale. Slightly reconstructed copies of original murals made by the Peabody Museum Awatovi Expedition, 1935-1939.

Christianity in comparison to that of the remainder of the Hopi. It would be a good reason for their return to the fold, alone of all the Hopi towns after the revolt, against the advice and threats of their neighbors. There must have been strong motivation for their choice to face death and destruction on the side of the Christian God and the Spaniards against their native kachinas and fellow Hopis.

Another factor in the apparent vitality of Awatovi Christianity may lie in the personality of the man who converted them, miracle or no. Father Porras seems to have gained dominance in the minds of Awatovi over the local religious leaders. That dominance was expressed physically and persisted for 70 years. The finest examples of Hopi kiva murals were found at Awatovi, directly under the main altar of church 2 (fig. 7). The kiva was complete, even to the entrance hatchway, and filled to the top with clean sand (fig. 8). Obviously it had been obtained by the priest from the Hopi owners for the express purpose of "superposition," demonstrating the ascendancy of the new faith over the old. Amid seventeenth-century New Mexico records replete with reports of mistakes, irregularities, and immoralities in the public and private lives of members of the government, the military, and the priesthood, Porras stands out as a man of exceptional ability and probity. The archeological evidence demonstrates that he was a great builder. He also learned to speak Hopi.

Two other missions were established in the first flush of missionary zeal, at Oraibi and Shongopavi, and also two *visitas,* at Walpi and Mishongnovi. The two missions subsequently were demoted to *visitas,* with only occasional visits by a priest. Christian zeal persisted only at Awatovi.

Although the religious effect of the Spanish advent on most Hopis was small, the material effect was great. In addition to domestic animals and new food plants, European goods flowed into the Hopi country, although this stream, like the local watercourses, was intermittent and irregular. Every three years, beginning in 1631, His Majesty's government set aside a considerable sum for the New Mexico missions. This largesse produced a triennial wagon train of iron-tired carts pulled by mules, which carried north the products of workshops in Mexico City, Puebla, Europe, and the Orient.

The outposts of Old World culture in New Mexico were thus at the far end of a remarkable system of procurement. The Manila galleons provided a yearly service for 250 years, 1565 to 1815, bringing Chinese goods to Acapulco, whence they came to Mexico City over the so-called China Road. The Spanish *flota* provided more frequent service to Vera Cruz. So crockery came from the kilns of Puebla in Mexico, Valencia in Spain, and Ching-te-chen in China (Woodward 1949). In addition to silks, tapestries, and tablecloths, the Manila galleons brought nails, sheet iron, tin, and lead. For the Hopi, the most valuable imports were the Spanish woodworking and stoneworking kits: knives, axes, adzes, mattocks, picks, crowbars, saws, chisels, planes, and augers. Religious paraphernalia loomed large in the caravan inventories (Scholes 1930). In September 1627, 18 bells of 200 pounds weight each were brought for New Mexico. Fragments of one of them were found in the excavations at Awatovi, and two still serve the church at Acoma.

Relations between Hopis and clergy during the seventeenth century were varied in character. Under the supervision of the blue-robed priests, Hopis built the churches and friaries, painted decorative murals on the walls (fig. 9), and made pottery utensils for the kitchen and refectory. Soup plates with Hopi designs and a fillet of clay affixed to the base in imitation of Old World wheel-made pottery are found in the ruins (fig. 10). An